

The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

MARIUS R. ROBINSON, Editor.

"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

ANN PEARSON, Publishing Agent.

VOL. 8--NO. 32.

SALEM, COLUMBIANA CO., OHIO, APRIL 30, 1853.

WHOLE NO 396.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY, AT SALEM, O.

TERMS.—\$1.50 per annum if paid in advance.
\$1.75 per annum if paid within the first six months of the subscriber's year.
\$2.00 per annum, if payment be delayed beyond six months.

We occasionally send numbers to those who are not subscribers, but who are believed to be interested in the dissemination of anti-slavery truth, with the hope that they will either subscribe themselves, or use their influence to extend its circulation among their friends.

Communications intended for insertion, to be addressed to MARIUS R. ROBINSON, Editor. All others to EMILY ROBINSON, Publishing Agent. J. HUDSON, PRINTER.

THE BUGLE.

Reply of Wendell Phillips, Esq., to Hon. Horace Mann.

Boston, April 7th, 1853.

W. L. GARRISON, Esq.:

DEAR SIR,—Mr. Mann dislikes the length of my letter. I am sorry they are so long, both for his sake and that of your readers. I might perhaps quote, in defence, the saying of the old English divine, "Ignorance can ask more questions in an hour than Wisdom can answer in six months"; but that might be thought personal. The question, however, is so comprehensive, that I cannot promise to be very brief.

At last Mr. Mann enters upon a frank and elaborate defence of his conduct in the matter of colored schools. I am glad of it. It is a duty which he has long owed to the anti-slavery public, and to his own good name. If any reader thinks his defence satisfactory, Mr. Mann should thank me for this opportunity of making it; for I assure him, he has never had, among abolitionists, the slightest credit for anything like what he now claims. In my opinion, the facts on which he rests his defence only deepen his guilt. I never saw nor heard of the articles in the *Common School Journal* to which he refers. But I have the most entire confidence in his personal veracity, and if he wishes to be understood to say that nine years ago he opposed the separate education of colored children, in articles published with the full responsibility of his name, I accept it as a fact. In view of it, I should not again use the precise phrase I did, that he never "gave us one word of recognition, countenance or aid." But I should still assert exactly the same in substance, namely, that he never gave us any substantial or public assistance.

Bearing, however, this claim of his in mind, let us examine his other statements. The first is, what he did, twenty years ago, as a Trustee of the Institution for the Blind. The meetings and records of those Trustees are private. What could I know, what could the public know, of the opinions expressed at those meetings, or recorded on those books? All that the abolitionists, all that the public knew, was that the *only colored child*, who, about that time, applied for admission to the Institution, was refused. As in other cases, we were obliged to judge the Trustees by their public actions, which we knew, not by their private opinions, which we could not know.

His second specification is a scene that took place in his parlor, or private rooms, at Bridgewater. I could not know, and surely was not bound to know, all the conversations Mr. Mann was holding in private. If, however, the private parlors of Normal School teachers are to be opened, I can refer him to a conference held in one, about that time, in which his views as to the admission of colored children to those schools were not at all what he now represents them to have been. Mr. Mann does not suspect me of this "base trick" attempted on him at Bridgewater "some eight or ten years ago," not very far from the time of one of my attacks on him. This is very generous in him, seeing that my attacks were made five years and three months ago, just three or five years after the alleged trick. "You rolled the water I was drinking last spring," said the wolf to the lamb. "But I was not born then," said the lamb. Does Mr. Mann remember the fable?

Of his third specification, the *Common School Journal*, I have already spoken. For his fourth, he adduces a private document, privately communicated to his friend, the City Solicitor of Boston, and now first brought to light! At that very time, Mr. Mann left me to bear alone the jeers of the profession, the contemptuous criticism of the City Solicitor, and the criticisms of the daily press, for maintaining that very opinion which he was very quietly putting into the Solicitor's private desk, and thus avoiding all responsibility?

* Since the above was in type, a friend, upon whose accuracy I can place the fullest reliance, writes me—

"I have looked through the *Common School Journal*, from the year 1839 to 1848 inclusive, without finding any 'articles and arguments' touching separate schools for colored children, except the resolves of the Salem School Committee, to the purpose that they had no power to establish such schools, with the well-known opinion of Richard Fletcher appended; and no remarks whatever of Mr. Mann on the matter."

Inferred, as I doubt not every reader did, from Mr. Mann's language, that he wished to be understood that he himself wrote and published, 'nine years ago,' in his *Common School Journal*, 'articles and arguments' against separate colored schools. He merely published, if my correspondent be correct, the formal resolves of a School Committee and a lawyer's technical opinion on a law point; papers which would attract little attention, and be of little use, unless followed by comment and explanation. I shall not trust myself to say what I think of the use of language so certain to mislead the public, and so unfair in the circumstances.

Does Mr. Mann remember Macaulay's searching criticism of the defence usually made for Charles I.? "We charge him with having broken his coronation oath—and we are told that he kept his marriage vow!—We accuse him of having given up his people to the merciless inflictions of the most hot-headed and hard-hearted of prelates—and the defence is, that he took his little son on his knee and kissed him! We censure him for having violated the articles of the Petition of Right—and we are informed that he was accustomed to hear prayers at six o'clock in the morning!" Mr. Mann's case seems to me similar. The title page of his volume of speeches is, "Slavery: Letters and Speeches, by Horace Mann, THE FIRST SECRETARY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BOARD OF EDUCATION." It is a title of which he is justly proud. The practice of cheating the colored child out of his legal rights in our schools had prevailed a long while in some of the large towns and cities of the State. A few earnest but unpopular men for ten years carried the door of the Legislature, to obtain redress. I charge the Secretary that he was never there. They gave School Committees in the various towns no rest, urging them to abolish the unjust distinction. I charge the Secretary that he was never there. The Secretary published eleven able, eloquent and detailed official Reports on the school system of the Commonwealth, one each year. I charge that, in all of them, he either wholly omitted the subject, or entirely misrepresented it.

And he replies by telling me what he did in private as Trustee of the Institution for the Blind? By lifting up the veil, which, very properly, covered his witty retorts at Bridgewater? and by now, at last, informing the public that he did once whisper a legal opinion into the private ear of a City Solicitor? How common it is for men, especially Americans, when charged with public default, to attempt a defence by alleging some private misgiving they indulged at the time, and which they think should qualify public censure! When the first fury of New England rebellion burst on Webster's head for his 7th of March Speech, you remember his defence—He had a provision of jury trial for fugitive slaves in his desk, but forgot to offer it! So Beecher, arraigned for gagging discussion twenty years ago at Lane Seminary, confesses now, for the first time, that, in private, he opposed the Trustees! Long ago, when Jeffries grew pale before the Revolution of 1832, he stammered out the excuse, that he tried, in private, to oppose James H., but the King would not let him stop butchering. And Hyman, sent to Coventry by the decency of the nineteenth century, shrieks out before he dies, "I, too, survive, in private, to hold the Emperor back; but he would make me whip and bang!"

Fifthly, Mr. Mann tells us that the School Law of 1845 was passed "after consulting with him, and with his hearty approval." As every one knew, its object was to make the Common Law certain by a statute law; and to ensure, beyond contingency, the equal rights of all the colored children in the State. We all thought it had done so. He was surprised that the Supreme Court afterwards disregarded it entirely. That law was passed in consequence of the appearance of a few abolitionists before the Legislative Committee. The draft which we asked them to adopt they threw aside, and submitted one of their own. I told that Committee, at the time, that their draft was ambiguous and equivocal and would not secure our object. One of them admitted this, half in jest, adding, "Mr. Phillips, we in Boston know that such schools are illegal, but we mean to have them, nevertheless."

Had Mr. Mann stood where I stood that day, and where he should have stood, by virtue of his office, and of the interest he now claims to have always taken in this question, he would neither have given that bill his hearty approval, nor been afterwards surprised that the Supreme Court put it carelessly aside.

Sixthly, Mr. Mann says, "In my Reports, I uniformly stated the law to be such as would confer upon colored children equal school privileges, in all respects, with white ones, which I believed it did. Where the practice did not conform to the theory, I labored to make it do so, and when I left the Secretaryship, we had nearly succeeded."

This is evasion. I never criticised his Reports for misstatements of law, but of fact. No intelligent lawyer doubted what the law was; though we all knew it was hopeless to expect that a pro-slavery court would fairly rule it. The public looked to his Reports for a correct statement of facts, and he crippled the efforts and clogged the path of the abolitionists by crying "peace," when there was no peace; by total misrepresentation.

In his tenth Report, 1847, he said:

"When the equal, natural and constitutional rights of Africa were thought to be invaded, she armed her courts of judicature with power to punish the aggressors. The public highway is not more open and free for every man in the community, than is the public school-house for every child; and each parent feels that a free education is as secure a part of the birthright of his offspring, as Heaven's bounties of light and air."

"EVERY MAN WHO TREADS HER SACRED SOIL IS FREE: ALL ARE FREE ALIKE; AND WITHIN HER BORDERS, FOR ANY PURPOSE CONNECTED WITH HUMAN SLAVERY, IRON WILL NOT BE WELDED INTO A FETTER."

After I had called his attention to the point, he next year, 1848, repeated the misrepresentation in still stronger language, thus: "The first condition—that the schools shall be conducted on the cardinal principles of the New England system—is already satisfied." * * * Our law requires that a school shall be sustained in every town in the State, even the smallest and poorest not being excepted; and that this school shall be open and free to all the children as the light of day or the air of heaven. No child is met on the threshold of the school-house door, to be asked for money, or whether his parents are native or foreign, whether or not they pay a tax, or what is their faith. The school-house is common property. * * * Public opinion, that sovereign in representative governments, is in harmony with the law. Not unfrequently there is some private opposition, and occasionally it avows itself and assumes an attitude of hostility; but the perseverance of the friends of progress always subdues it." pp. 88-9.

I presume Mr. Mann himself would now erase the sentence printed above in small capitals, since he has lived to see Thomas Sims sit chained in a Boston Court House, itself surrounded with chains. I had seen George Latimer, and many a fugitive beside, before that, and pointed out this error to Mr. Mann at the time. He has never forgiven me for it.

"Each parent feels that a free education is as secure a part of the birthright of his offspring, as Heaven's bounties of light and air." "No child is met on the threshold of the school-house door, to be asked for money, or whether his parents are native or foreign, whether or not they pay a tax, or what is their faith." Mr. Mann knew, if he then took any interest in this question, that from the very city where he then sat writing these sentences, colored families had been obliged to remove, in order to secure the 'birthright of their offspring'—an equal place in schools supported by their taxes. He knew that at every 'school-house door' stood men, who, though they did not ask whether the applicant was native or foreign, or of what faith, did uniformly ask whether he was black or white. I said at the time, that in making this list of questions not asked, it seemed 'impossible that it should not have occurred to him, that there was a question sure to be asked; and that even all the confidence which his long and arduous labors had won for him, could not do away the suspicion that this question, which he knew was asked at the school-house door, was purposely omitted from his catalogue."

"Public opinion, that sovereign in representative governments, is in harmony with the law." From the two hundred schools of Boston, the capital of the State, and whose schools are the special boast of the Commonwealth, he knew that every colored child was rigorously excluded, in acknowledged defiance of what Mr. Mann believed to be the law. He knew, or ought to have known, that young colored men, fitted for two famous High Schools, had been forced to go elsewhere, and at great expense, complete their studies at the moment when they were securing, gratuitously, those eminent advantages. And yet, in a document meant for European as well as home circulation, and specially professing to give an exact and detailed account of our school system and its practical condition, Mr. Mann ventured the above assertion—a gross misrepresentation, to call it nothing more. We were endeavoring, all the while, by directing public attention to this great injustice, to secure a remedy. This was the only weapon we had. Does Mr. Mann suppose that representations like these, from such a quarter, did not tend to opiate the public conscience, and enable the City to hide her shame from the rest of the Commonwealth, and from the world, whose opinion she would dread? So utterly neglected had the Secretary been—this watchman on the tower—that I found one Chairman of a 'Legislative School Committee,' who came from the western counties, actually ignorant that separate schools for colored children existed in some of the seaboard towns!

Such are the Reports to which Mr. Mann refers, in answer to my charge of inattention to this official duty.

What Mr. Mann means in his seventh item, about a Statute of 1813, I do not know. There was no Statute made on this subject, in 1813. If it be a misprint for 1815, I have already spoken of it. Any codification made here has been made after the Supreme Court's Session, and so after my criticisms. Of course, therefore, that does not belong to this discussion.

And, eighthly, he says, he always visited the colored schools. Of course he did. It was the formal routine of his office, and has no bearing either way.

Mr. Mann's defence shows two things—that he knew of this abuse; and that his opinion of its illegality and cruelty coincided with ours. The remarks I have now made, show that he did nothing, in public and in earnest, to remedy it. I do not think that this new state of facts improves his position before the anti-slavery public. The public will judge.

The test to which I would like to submit the matter is this: Could I call together, to-day, all the members of legislative and town and city Committees before whom we have so often urged this question, and ask them all whether, during that long struggle, any one of them ever imagined that Horace Mann stood with us, in the contest, I am confident the idea would be new to almost every one, if not every one of them. If from them we made an appeal to the public, whose patience we, instant in season and out of season, have so long wearied, not one in a thousand would say that he ever heard of Mr. Mann as a party in the effort.

Mr. Mann excuses himself for not having publicly helped us, by saying that, when he entered on his office, a religious sect imported him to make the school subservient to their religious views, and that he refused to do so. If he thinks that the question of admitting theology into schools is anywise akin to the claim that colored children, whose fathers pay taxes, shall have the same right in schools supported by those taxes that their white neighbors have—he only shows that he does not, even yet, comprehend the subject, or the anti-slavery enterprise itself.

And, after all, this excuse is not broad enough. If Mr. Mann's convictions date back, as he claims, 'twenty years,' I beg him to remember that, long since that date, he had been a member of our State Legislature,

been indeed President of our Senate; he, the friend of education. Where is the record of any attempt on his part, while in the Legislature, to secure legislative prohibition of these schools? If his peculiar deficiency, as Secretary, forbade his taking a public part—such public part was his bounden duty while a leading member of the Legislature itself.

Mr. Mann regrets that my 'denunciatory, unsparing and indiscriminate course' has made the performance of his duty towards the oppressed African far more difficult, &c. &c.

It seems to me, Mr. Garrison, that you and I have heard that remark before. R. R. Gurley made it in regard to colonization. Henry Clay made it in defence of the slaveholders. Oville Dewey made it when offering to return his mother into slavery, if necessary. Moses Stuart made it, in answer to Paul's ringing back Questions. One of the miserable wretches who came here to identify Sims, objected to our denunciatory course. I claim all those epithets as our surest title-deeds to the gratitude of posterity. I was 'denunciatory' when the rich and educated combined to rob the poor of their best birthright, education. I was 'unsparing' when reformers, men who claimed to be the peculiar friends of liberty and justice, stood silent lookers on. I was 'indiscriminating' when priest and politician, educationist and sectarian, Presidents of Senates and purse-proud millionaires, alike joined in wronging the weak because they had no friends, and because to 'pass by on the other side' would increase one's influence.

Mr. Mann thinks my recent speech claims too much, ludicrously too much for the abolitionists. It was made in the presence of those who have known us all for the last twenty years. They know the facts; and if my claim is ludicrously exaggerated, it will only make me a laughing-stock, and so no harm be done. I spoke and printed my remarks in Boston, which heard in this connection of Garrison and Chapman, Jackson and Quincy, Loring and Sewall, Foster and Pillsbury, Weld, Smith, Goodell and Jay, long before I heard of Sumner, Chase, Palfrey and Hale. To the judgment of such a community, I cheerfully submit my claims.

But let no word of mine do injustice to the well earned fame and self-sacrifice of Mr. Palfrey and his friends.

Mr. Mann's next five paragraphs, (relating to human law keeping my abhorrence of slavery in check,) to the right to agitate the question of slavery in Congress, to his imperfect list of Anti-Slavery exertions, and to his support of the Constitution, 'with his interpretation of it, seem to me, more tedious than any of his former ones. I should speak more strongly, if I spoke at all, of his attempt, further on, to evade my remark on his jesuitical construction of an oath.

I will now proceed to notice the manner in which my remarks about the oath are dealt with. Mr. Mann does not attempt to answer any one of my questions and arguments. To be sure, in closing, he offers to discuss with me our duties under the Constitution. I have not yet got from him a definite answer to my first inquiry, "Whether he now thinks the Constitution of the United States secures to the slaveholder the right of recapturing his slave, when he escapes into the free States." Let him answer that frankly, and I will gladly debate with him. But it seems to me idle to go on with an opponent who refuses me any full knowledge of his present views, and bases his defence now on one ground, and now on another, totally irreconcilable with the first.

Mr. Mann's whole attempt in this part of his letter, is to show, that if he is wrong, I am as great a sinner as he. Suppose I grant all he claims; my being a sinner does not prove him a saint—my being wrong does not begin to prove him right. That cause is weak, and touches its downfall, when its champion has nothing to say to his foe but "You are as bad as I am."

Mr. Mann excuses his vote for John P. Hale on the ground that he had no chance of being elected. Would Mr. Mann have voted for any friend to become captain of a gang of horse-thieves, provided there was no chance of his being elected? Of course not. Yet he will not presume to say that horse-stealing does not whiten into virtue when compared with the crime of returning runaway slaves.

But have Free Soilers organized a party, and do they spend all their labor, to elect a man to an office, which, after all, he need not conscientiously accept? Hear this, ye Free Soilers, who are always taunting Garrisonians with throwing away their vote! What will the party do, when it becomes a majority? Cease to nominate Presidents? Or, does Mr. Mann consider the danger of their ever being a majority so distant, as to 'very vanishing a point,' as not to be worth considering? But Mr. Sumner was elected Senator, and serves as such; and the Senate co-operates with the President in appointing Judges, District Attorneys and Marshalls, to execute the Fugitive Slave clause. If Mr. Hale could not be President, how can Sumner be Senator?

His next defence is, that if Hale had been elected, there would have been no chance of his being required to do any constitutional act for the return of fugitive slaves; since no President has been called on, for the last sixty-four years, and there is a better chance still in time to come. This statement is incorrect. Has Mr. Mann forgotten President Fillmore's Proclamation on the occasion of Shadrach's rescue, no longer ago than Feb. 18th, 1851?—and certainly within his constitutional duties.—But, waiving this, and granting that the facts were as he states, it matters not to the argument. I will not stop to say that Mr. Mann would never agree to commit murder, merely because he thought there were ninety-nine chances out of a hundred that he would never be actually called on to do the deed: which shows his argument to be unsound. But I assert further, that grant-

ing it in full, it does not touch the case at all.

The Bank of England has not been, I believe, occupied by troops for nearly fifty years. But what, in any time of trouble, keeps the Bank untouched? The knowledge that the Horse Guards will at any moment garrison the building. But does it not being called on to do so, rob the Government of all the merit of protecting property in London?—The United States troops have not been called on to put down an insurrection of slaves in Virginia since 1851. But what keeps the slaves there quiet? The knowledge that the soldiers at Norfolk are ready to march at a moment's warning. But does this acquit the United States of all responsibility for protecting slavery since 1831? The Fugitive Slave Law has been executed in many places unable to follow the holy example of Christiana and Syracuse. Why? Because the few hundred who felt for the slave knew that, if necessary, whole regiments would be brought out to enforce the court's decisions, indeed the whole force of the Union. Very properly, therefore, they desisted from so mad a course, and the President was not actually called on, because it was known that, if resisted, he would act, and was able to act efficiently. But does this excuse the President in the least?

A child was punished yesterday, and obeyed. Remembering this, he obeys to-day, without waiting to be punished. But, according to Mr. Mann, the well-known will of the parent had no hand or merit in securing the second day's obedience. That is according to Mr. Mann on the 4th April, 1853. He thought differently once. He will not deny that the judicial power has returned slaves within the last sixty-four years. Yet on May 17, 1851, he could say—

"Judicial power" does not consist in a sheriff's presiding over a jury, nor in an auditor's casting up accounts, nor in a commissioner's reporting out the dividends of an insolvent's estate, nor in county commissioners' laying out roads; but it consists in entering up a judgment which has the force of the law, and which has the sanction of the United States, which has fifty thousand ships which has the treasury of the nation to back it, and to visit with death one man, a thousand men, or a hundred thousand men, if need be, who shall confront it with resistance."

If this be a correct description of the 'judicial power' which has been constantly returning slaves, what part in the work has the President, the commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States? Did George T. Curtis send back Thomas Sims to the United States, with Millard Fillmore at their head, that really kept State street silent, while that infamous procession stained its pavements?

The President who appoints a deputy to do an act, and stands by while the act is done, is as much responsible for it as if he had done it with his own hands. The fact, therefore, that the President has not been actually called on, except in Fillmore's proclamation against Shadrach, to execute the Fugitive Slave Law, is of no force in this argument. Mr. Mann stands, therefore, by his own confession, in this position: Acknowledging that the Constitution orders the return of fugitive slaves, he voted last fall for J. P. Hale as President. To elect Hale, Mr. Mann did all he could. He gave his vote. He has but one vote to give. God will not hold him responsible for ten thousand votes, but for one. No man who voted for President Pierce did more for him than Mr. Mann did for Hale. He gave his vote and all the influence which his example had.

Now, what is the meaning of this vote? Interpreted into words, it is this: I, Horace Mann, hereby resign the office of President of the United States, and to take the oath of that office, which is faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States, and to the best of your ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the U. S. I request and authorize you to appoint judges, marshals and other fitting officers, to execute the various provisions of that instrument, and among others, that for the return of fugitive slaves; and in case such return be resisted, to array the army and navy of the Union for its enforcement. To place Mr. Hale in that position, Mr. Mann did all he could. If by the loss of Hale's election, some great national blessing had been lost, and posterity had accused this generation for allowing it, Mr. Mann would have laid his hand on his heart and said, "I am not guilty: I did all I could to elect him." If, in such circumstances, he could rightfully have made such a claim, he must not now, when the tables are turned, avoid the full responsibility of his act.

I have no wish to introduce any new points into this discussion. But I go further: I claim that every voter in the last election is morally responsible for the election of President Pierce, and for the ordinary constitutional acts he may do. Every voter, under this Constitution, is understood to assent to this fundamental principle, that the majority shall govern. When, under such a Constitution as ours, he enters a Presidential caucus, he, in effect says, "My candidate shall be President, and execute the ordinary functions of the office, he gets the most votes; and I agree that your candidate shall be President, and execute all the ordinary functions of the office, if he obtains more votes than my friend." I will not stop now to unfold this idea, but every frank and honorable mind will readily see that this is an essential condition of constitutional government.

I have heard of a firm, made up of a Christian and a Jew, that did business together five days in the week. Then the Christian kept shop Saturday, while the Jew worshipped, and the Jew kept shop Sunday, while his Christian partner attended church. Thus they made more money than their neighbors. Mr. Mann's arguments are of this nature. He rides two horses, at the same time. Now he uses one theory, and now another. When one thinks he has put

his hand on him, he is not there. For instance: He is understood to hold, with Mr. Sumner and the Free Soil party generally, that the duty of surrendering fugitives belongs to the States, and that the clause needs no additional legislation. He affirms, also, that he swears to support the Constitution as he understands it. As Governor of Massachusetts, therefore, he would be bound to see that fugitives were returned. Any slaveholder might, as Free Soilers think, use the old English writs, and if able to convince a Boston jury, (no hard task), the Governor must sustain the decision of the court. The action of congress on this subject, Mr. Mann considers unconstitutional; and he has a hundred times avowed that he would never obey it. Of course, then, he would not be deterred from doing as Governor, his constitutional duty, merely because somebody else Congress, for instance, had illegally interfered in the matter. I ask him then how, with this theory, he could agree to take such an office. He replies,—I think no Governor of this State will ever issue his warrant for the return of a fugitive slave, who has not had a trial by jury; and probably slavery itself will be "blasted" by the Lord, before a jury trial will be granted by Congress; the danger, therefore, is at the very vanishing point!

Before a jury trial be granted by Congress! But Congress has nothing, Mr. Mann thinks, to do with the business. Why does the Governor wait for Congress? Let him do his clear acknowledged duty. But no; to clear himself as Governor, he will take the Constitution as he understands it, and is sure Congress has nothing to do with the matter, and that the slave act is unconstitutional! Free Soilers may then be Presidents of the U. States, or members of Congress, because, with their interpretation, the National Government has nothing to do with slaves; that belongs to the States! And a Free Soiler may be Governor of a State, because the Supreme Court says the surrender of slaves belongs to the Nation! Very convenient morality this! Do the party keep men with one theory to act in the States, and men with another theory to act in the Nation? Right enough, perhaps, when the individual is not implicated as in Mr. Mann's case in both capacities. Connected families managed in a similar way. They used, it is said, to let church members make wooden images, which were held in veneration; but kept one set away, to sell them; which was thought questionable. We should not think of such a thing in the present, with such business.

Charles Lamb paints, in Lucian's manner, a hungry God, hovering with expectant nostrils, in wait for his incense, while two priests dispute which shall offer it, and at last the deity has to fly away without his dinner. Imagine a slaveholder waiting thus for Mr. Mann to let him have, in one character or the other, his acknowledged legal rights. But Governor Mann and Mr. Representative Mann both beg to be excused, benignly naming him all the while, (p. 174) that Free Soilers are most especially "Union loving and law abiding men;" and that he acknowledges his obligations to the Constitution while it is suffered to last!

Should a Governor ever be brought to the necessity of issuing his warrant, Mr. Mann thinks he is still safe. He end by the store! What a grand moral picture! Massachusetts Governors buying off the slaves they have agreed to restore! This is too ludicrously untenable to be considered in serious argument. Suppose Rossini cannot persuade Flyback to give up his pound of flesh; suppose the master is free to sell, as in several recent cases (Sims) and others; he has done, where then is Governor Mann? I hope every Governor who takes office on this plan, will see that he has 'much goods laid up' for there are thousands of fugitives in the State, and with such a proclamation I am afraid his 'much goods' will not be 'laid up for many years.'

It is here that Mr. Mann says, I once tore up my commission and retired to dignified leisure; and he thinks office holders may wait till actually required to do some wicked act and then initiate my example. Let me inform him that I never held any office, except a military one long before I was an abolitionist. My sense of duty would not allow me to take an office, any possible duty of which I considered sinful. If, after taking an office, I should discover that any of its possible duties were of that nature, I should not continue to hold it till such crisis occurred—giving, off the while, the influence of my example to lead other men into the path, and to uphold the Government, but should resign at once. I acted on this principle in quitting my profession.

Mr. Mann acknowledges that he voted the money which paid Millard Fillmore, Levi Woodbury, Charles Davis, Peleg Sprague, and B. R. Curtis for their respective shares in the Boston slave case. I ask any abolitionist what is his first impression on reading such a confession? Was that a vote for an anti-slavery man to give? Mr. Mann looks it was. The only way he proves the vote innocent is this. He says I am equally guilty, because I pay taxes. If the fact be so, I submit that my guilt does not prove his innocence; and it is his the only argument Free Soilers have to offer, their cause seems to me very weak. And yet I have faithfully examined the entire column devoted to this point, and assert that this is the only defence Mr. Mann offers, except the following:—

"Nor do I consider myself any more accountable for their unconstitutional proceedings in the Sims case, than I should had they sentenced Mr. Phillips to be drawn and quartered. It is responsibility to be extended and diffused in such a way, no man can live in society for a day without incurring damning guilt. I do my duty, in my office, on my own responsibility; others may do theirs, on their responsibility."

This does not rise even to the dignity of a quibble. If the Marshal of Boston, instead of putting Hon. Samuel E. Sewall into the lock up, had hung him at the navy yard, and sent the bill to Congress, would Mr. Mann have voted to pay it? Surely not. He does then examine the way in which dependent officers exercise their duty, as his oath of office binds him to do so; otherwise, we might as well send, as Webster once said, "broomsticks to Congress."

But is the paying of taxes to the Government at all like voting to pay Charles Deven's thirty pieces of silver? Voting is a voluntary act. Taking office is a voluntary act. Voting the supplies is a voluntary act. Mr. Mann votes, takes office, and says 'yea' in Congress, of his own free will. Is my paying taxes a voluntary act? Suppose I refuse. Government takes my house, sells it, and takes the money. Exceedingly voluntary this! When did the woman, who pays her five hundred dollars to the city of Boston, assent to the imposition? I might continue the list to any extent. Voting is the act of a sovereign moulding the Government. Taxes are a burden imposed on subjects. The Government wrung from me, without my consent—robbed me, of some hundreds of dollars. But they could do nothing with it, till Mr. Horace Mann stepped forward and VOLUNTEERED to vote it to Charles Deven's payment for doing worse than murdering his brother. The Nation met Mr. Mann and said, "Will you be a member of Congress?" He replied, "Yes," knowing the duties of the office. The Government then came to him, and presented their infamous bill in the Senate, and said, "Will you authorize us to pay this?" He replied, "Yes." To get the means to pay that bill, that same Government comes, and takes my money, without asking my consent. And Mr. Mann thinks our relations to the Senate are identical! I will agree with him, when he shows me that the Chief Priests were just as innocent in paying Judas thirty pieces of silver, as was the traveller from Jerusalem to Jericho, when he gave up his raiment to the thieves among whom he fell.

It is in this part of his letter that Mr. Mann calls me 'cowardly' for refusing to go to Congress! On this theory, what a nation of heroes we must be! Since of all the millions there are only a few Garrisonians afraid to go to Congress! Let me congratulate Mr. Mann on his release from the post of danger.

Next come sneering in the Courts, and using the Post-office. In these cases, Government does me a service at a certain price, as a merchant sells me his goods, or a lawyer his skill. Any body,—a foreigner who never set foot on our soil,—may have those services, if he will pay for them. No one is asked to assent to the Government, or endorse its good character, before he can sue or mail a letter. When Harriet Martineau mails a letter to a friend in Indiana, does she become morally responsible for the arrest of Shadrach, as Charles Deven did when he paid Deputy Marshal Riley for pretending to eat a breakfast, that he might seize the slave? And as part of the postage goes to England, does she endorse monarchy beside? If Mazzini sent Kossuth a letter through the Austrian mail, he incurred the same responsibility for Haynau's crimes, as the Emperor that paid for them! If I buy a book in John Murray's store, I endorse his Presidentialism. Leon—Were I a prisoner on a pirate deck, where they had some one set apart to decide disputes, and one of the pirates stole my dinner, I should ask his judge to make him restore it, and not feel that, in so doing, I at all became partner in the piracy. My position in this country is similar; while I do nothing that a foreigner may not do, I set out as a partner in the Government, but as a subject. I do not consent to Government; I only submit to it, as to any inevitable evil. To such submission, no guilt attaches.

Let me explain. In man's present condition, Government is a necessary evil. But who is to choose what its form and nature shall be? The only rule, at once practicable and just, is to let the majority choose. Suppose the minority think that the arrangements made are injudicious. Still, they should join and try to make these arrangements better. But if any individual thinks the arrangements *unjust and wicked*, (as, for instance, if Government command its officers to lie, to practise idolatry, or to return slaves), what shall he do? Of course, he cannot assent, or become partner in them. That is self-evident, no matter what sacrifice it costs him. Pagan Pompey could teach us, that 'It is necessary to be honest; it is not necessary to live.' What then will be the relations of such individuals, (like the English Nonjurors), to the Government? In setting these relations, two things are to be considered. 1st. In any specified territory, there can be, from the nature of the case, but one Government. 2nd. Every man has a right to life, and property on the spot where he was born. This right God gave him; no majority can take it away. It is a right antecedent and paramount to all Governments; and pronounced 'self-evident and inalienable' by our Declaration of Independence. From these two principles it results, that any individual, unable to become a partner in the State, has still a right while he keeps the peace, to follow his usual pursuits, and enjoy the ordinary protection of the State; to acquire and hold property, and be protected in it; to use the highways, courts and mails of the State; in a word, to enjoy that class of rights generally granted, even by despots, to the disfranchised classes.

I know this principle has been sometimes invaded. Christians have held, in Asia, their civil rights, only on condition of sharing in idolatrous practices. Rome treated the early Christians in the same way, and England, in times past, was thus unjust to Catholics. Such subjects had no choice but to die martyrs. But mankind have, long ago, decided that such a course, though within the power, is not within the *rightful authority* of any State; and it is wholly alien to the theory of the English and of our institutions, indeed of all modern free governments. I repeat, that the majority have no right to infer that the minority, in using such rights, become implicated in Government sins; since that would be to suppose that a majority is authorized to set up a wicked Government, and then make honest men, to whom God gave a right to live on the soil, join in it or starve; which is absurd. It was on this principle that our Saviour paid taxes, and Paul appealed from the court of Festus to Caesar; though neither of them would have served in the Prætorian guards to kill Nero's mother, (spite of Dr. Dewey,) or sat in the Senate to pay for it afterwards.

But if Mr. Mann can prove me wrong in suing, &c., that does not shew him to be right in voting. It only proves us both sinners; and I, for one, shall try to cease sinning, and mend my ways.

Mr. Mann sneers at my idea, that oaths to the Constitution are out to that instrument in the sense annexed to it by the Supreme Court. He used to think differently; very recently, too. Feb. 28, 1851, he said in the House of Representatives, speaking of Representatives (p. 402):—

"Even should the Supreme Court of the United States declare the law to be constitutional, then, though we must acknowledge their decision, as to the point decided, to be the law of the land, until it is set aside, yet, without any disrespect to that tribunal, we may still adhere to our former opinion."

The same doctrine forms the basis of the greater part of his arguments against the Fugitive Slave Law. "This was the constitutional doctrine under which he took his oath of office. He did not ask then, as in his second letter to you, what he should do when the nation was on one side, and the Supreme Court on the other—or what he should do if the nation changed its opinion—or hint at any understanding with Howell Cobb as to how far the law should be obeyed. No. When he took the oath which he is now trying to construe away, his doctrine was, that a decision of the SUPREME COURT IS TO BE ACKNOWLEDGED AS THE LAW OF THE LAND, UNTIL IT IS SET ASIDE. Conversions are suspicious when men change their opinions in order to excuse their acts."

He quotes Gen. Andrew Jackson on this point. I have great respect for General Jackson's opinion on a fortification of cotton bags; but no respect at all for his opinion on a point of law. It happens, however, that, on this occasion, I entirely agree with the Jackson doctrine, as quoted by Messrs Mann and Sumner. General Jackson says that the President and Congress, in making laws, have a right to decide for themselves, whether the proposed law is constitutional. Of course they have. But Jackson does not say,—at least, in this quotation, nor anywhere that I know,—that if Congress pass a law which they think constitutional, and the Supreme Court sanction it, he, on his private understanding of the Constitution, shall, as President, refuse to execute the law: which is Mr. Mann's position. Suppose that Congress has passed a law, and that the Supreme Court have pronounced it constitutional. In this state of things, Mr. Mann enters Congress. I do not deny that, as a legislator, he may try to get the law repealed. I do not deny that, as a lawyer, he may get up a case, and try to make the Court reverse its decision. But I ask whether, while it remains on the statute book, and while the Supreme Court recognize it as constitutional, he, as an Officer of Government, means to aid in giving effect to its provisions, by providing process and appointing officers, &c. After which he is not at liberty, as an honorable man and good citizen, to resist such process and such officers; but, contrariwise, is bound to assist the one in executing the other, if lawfully called on to do so. From the nature of Government, and the harmonious co-operation necessary to its success, no honorable man holding office under it has a right to abuse, discountenance and resist other officers, when engaged in the discharge of their lawful duties. He is bound to give a whole-hearted support to laws and officers belonging to the same State with himself. How incongruous and absurd for a Representative to go about denouncing Marshals and Judges for obeying that Constitution which he also serves, and is voting them pay for serving! If he says 'Yes' to my question above, then I ask, how does his relation to the catching of slaves, or any other subject on which Congress may legislate, differ from that of slaveholding Representatives themselves? If he says 'No,' and asserts that he has a right to interpret the Constitution for himself, and nullify an existing law, then I assert that he turns the Government into an anarchy. Every other man has the same right that he has. However, the Constitution will be one thing in Boston, and another thing in Philadelphia; one thing one side of the street, and quite a different thing opposite. Yet such a man calls himself a Union man—a supporter of the Constitution!

In England, what Parliament decrees is law, no matter how unreasonable. (See Blackstone, i. 91.) They have no written Constitution. Here we have a written Constitution. Laws inconsistent with it are void. Such is the theory, but if the law-making power may make any law which it professes to think consistent with the Constitution, now do we differ from England? Our Constitution is then a sham. Mr. Mann has clearly and fully explained all this, on the 48th page of his volume, which I have not room to quote.

On this point,—the authority of the Supreme Court,—I have with me nine-tenths of the legal profession, and three-fourths of the statesmanship of the nation, past and present. That consideration is of weight, when no party prejudice mingles in the question. Let Mr. Mann answer the second reply of Webster to Hayne, contained in three or four pages—an argument which Marshall pronounced impregnable,—before he expects me to spend time in carrying coals to Newcastle.

I know this magnificent conspiracy against justice, which Mr. Mann calls a government, is fast becoming one of majorities, not of Constitutions. We are fast verging to unlimited democracy, the rock on which all former Republics have foundered. Few men are doing more to bring about this result than those who are trying to introduce the

*Mr. Mann speaks (p. 287) of Mr. Webster as "bound, in fulfilment of his constitutional duty, to secure jury trial to fugitive slaves. What right had Mr. Mann to tug in this strain to Mr. Webster? Had not Mr. Webster a right, as Mr. Mann to construe the Constitution for himself? and had he not just declared that, in his opinion, no such constitutional duty existed? On Mr. Mann's present theory, that which a legislator thinks his constitutional duty is his constitutional duty, such a remark to Mr. Webster was logically absurd,—indeed, savored of impertinence. Instead, however, of allowing Mr. Webster to explain the Constitution in his own way, Mr. Mann, then, felt at liberty to say, (continuing the argument, p. 293), 'The Supreme Court of the United States has furnished us with an AUTHORITY INTERPRETATION of the Constitution.'

Here Mr. Mann is riding two horses again. If it be his privilege as a legislator to examine the constitutionality of all acts submitted to him, has he not the power, and, having the power, is he not bound to decide also whether he will pay Charles Deven for doing an unconstitutional act under an unconstitutional law? His former theory and this one do not hang together.

theory of private interpretations of the Constitution, and to loosen the obligations of oaths.

But the evil is far greater than the mere destruction of this Government. Truth—the entire sacredness of promises—is the ligament that binds society together, and makes progress possible. The principle of limited, written Constitutions, interpreted by some power before set apart for the purpose, is the great political discovery of modern times. To elaborate this principle has cost the lavish sacrifices and patient sufferings of many generations, and the best blood of the race, shed on the battle-field and the block. Even the freedom of three millions of slaves would be purchased too dear, if purchased at the cost of truth, or of the essential principle of Constitutional Government; the only political hope of the race. We were not sent into the world to free slaves, but to do our duty. To do right is our first duty. To do good is only a second consideration. Mind, I say, the essential principle of all Constitutional Government is not to be sacrificed to free slaves. I do not mean this individual Constitution or Government. Welcome the blow that strikes this into a thousand fragments, if it strikes off also the fetters of the slave.

Mr. Mann thinks me too mole-eyed, too much of a pettifogger, to understand great Constitutional questions. It may be so. I only claim to know right from wrong. Moral principles are not changed by numbers. Evil is still evil, though you follow a multitude to do it. When God calls his short sighted creatures to judgement, no grand array of state maxims, no curious network of politics, will hide me from his single and searching eye.

Mr. Mann thinks we desert our duty to the slave, in refusing to vote and go to Congress. I will gladly do both, as soon as he will show me how I can do them as an honest man. He does not, surely, think I am bound to do what I think dishonest, in order to free slaves!

My idea of the way to reform government is this. When God shows any man that a government arrangement is wrong, (morally wrong, not merely inexpedient), that man should therefore forthwith join in it. Those who see him thus sacrifice to a conscientious conviction his political rights, dear to every man, will reconsider their ways; and thus light will spread. When public opinion has been thus changed, the mass of men will shape their institutions to suit it. This, surely, is a plain, honest and expedient course, fruitful of good results. The other course—continuing in the government—in the first place, soils a man's conscience, by making him do things he cannot wholly approve. Secondly, you are a bad advocate of your new ideas if your actions are not wholly consistent with your opinions. Men will not heed a preacher who does not think his words sacrificing anything for. All history shows that the compromises of good men have made the race halt in its advance, and kept truth at the bottom of her well. Compromise is the American Devil.

Mr. Mann thinks me inconsistent in asking for women the right to vote, and in writing a recent circular on this subject, which I must confess to have done.

I have no wish to measure other people's consciences by my yard-stick. I do not expect that every man will come up to my ideal, but I do demand that every man shall act consistently with his own ideas. Now, our government is based on the principle that every tax payer, every person amenable to law, shall have a right to vote. Women come within this description, and should therefore have the right. Important benefits flow from the possession of it: I claim it, therefore, for women. When they get it, I shall immediately argue that they ought not to exercise it, which will be another means of bringing the Anti-Slavery cause to their attention. But it is for them to decide that point, not for me or the government. Many will vote. Shall they be deprived of the right, because a few abolitionists will not use it? The possession of the right to vote is no sin. A wicked government can offer us nothing. The exercise of that right is; for that shows that we accept the offer, and are willing to become partners in the government. There are many similar cases. I would not make such a speech as Daniel Webster's, or such a lecture as Orville Dewey's for all California.

But let any body deny their legal right to do it, and the world shall find me at their side in a moment, to give them all the aid I can in vindicating that legal right. I hope I shall never be left again to walk the streets under epaulets, and tied to a sword; but when the colored man claims the legal right to be enrolled in our regiments, I hold up both hands in his favor.

I would not advise any man to be a Catholic or a Presbyterian, an Infidel or a Mormon, and would rather cut off my right hand than join Rowe street church, whose pews are held on the express condition that no colored man shall be allowed to purchase; but I contend stoutly that government shall allow every man to choose his own sect, and even to go to Rowe street church, if he please. Does not Mr. Mann agree with me?

I hope I have not misrepresented Mr. Mann's Constitutional positions. I have tried not to do so; but what with his volume and his various letters, it is almost impossible to make out what he does really believe, at present, about the Constitution. If he continues this discussion, I hope he will not proceed on imputations of meaning, but frankly tell us whether he now considers the fugitive slave clause, correctly construed, covers the case of fugitive slaves. He owes this to himself, to me, and to your readers. His doing so is a necessary preliminary to our discussing 'Constitutional questions about slavery.'

Mr. Mann informs me that my letter contains seventy-five departures from truth, and that its atmosphere was as offensive as that of a middle passage cabin, and then requests me not to be personal. I submit that example in this matter would be better than precept.

Yours truly,

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

COLONIZATION IN VIRGINIA.—A bill has passed both branches of the Virginia Legislature, setting apart about \$40,000 annually, to be applied in removing free persons of color from the State to Liberia. A portion of the amount to be raised is to be derived from an annual tax of \$1 each upon every free male person of color in the State, between the ages of twenty-one and fifty-five years; \$30,000 are to come from the State Treasury, and balance from the tax on seals attached to registers of freedom.

A Memorial.

"To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:

The memorial of the undersigned, citizens of Pennsylvania, respectfully represents: That they regard the existence of slavery in the Southern States of this Union as injurious to the prosperity of the nation, destructive to the harmony of the several sections, incompatible with the great principles of liberty and the rights of man as set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution, and eminently calculated to retard the progress of those principles among other nations;—that while acknowledging that their right of direct legislation for the abolition of slavery rests exclusively in the people of the Southern States, your memorialist yet believe that inasmuch as the citizens of the Free States, through their commercial relations with the South, participate in the profits of Slave labor, and have thus become partners with the Slave-holders in the great business of Slavery, it is the duty of the National Government, whenever the Southern States may be disposed to adopt legislative measures for the purpose, to aid them in establishing universal freedom. And your memorialists, therefore, respectfully, but earnestly, ask of Congress the enactment of a law which shall provide that whenever any State, by its Legislature, shall pass an act emancipating the Slaves within its limits, an assessment shall be made by Commissioners appointed under the authority of the Governor of the State, and the President of the United States, of the losses sustained by the Slave-holders individually, and the aggregate amount to be paid out of the National Treasury into the Treasury of such State for equitable distribution.

(Signed)

Samuel Rhoads, Abm. L. Penneck,
Enoch Lewis, Jasper Cope,
Geo. W. Taylor, Isaac Collins,
Edward Garrett.

Nancy.

A few years since, a bright-eyed mulatto woman, the slave of a gentleman residing in Anson county, North Carolina, fled to the free States, which, after unusual hardships, and the exercise of more heroism than is generally attributed to her race, she succeeded in reaching. She left behind a husband who was also a slave, belonging to Mrs. K., of the same county. To this husband, Nancy was strongly attached, and though she was well situated in this State, could give herself no peace until she had resolved to return and attempt his rescue. The long and weary journey to her old home was made on foot and by night. Arrived near the residence of her husband's mistress, she lay concealed for more than a week in the mountains, before she could procure an interview. But her husband lacked courage. He dared not risk the attempt to flee; and it was several weeks before this black Machbeth's courage could be 'screwed to the sticking'—or rather to the running 'point.' At last he fled and had nearly reached the Cumberland Gap, when he was overtaken and captured.

His mistress, by the way, was willing he should escape, but she was in fear of her heirs, who, indeed, were the parties that chased and captured the slave. Nancy escaped and returned here. The aged mistress of the fugitive was so affected by the devotion of Nancy, and the desire of the husband to be re-united, that she conceived the idea of herself running off with her own slave, for the purpose of bringing him to a free State. The preparations were made with the greatest secrecy, and carried out with so much skill and prudence, that she succeeded, and lately passed through this city on the way to the residence of Nancy, who is now living with her husband. The old lady left North Carolina, and has made no attempt to regain it. She is now permanently settled in this State, and is supported by the charity of her neighbors.

Our informant, whom we met yesterday, was on his way from the residence of Mrs. K. He thinks that there will still be an effort made to regain possession of the slave.

[Cincinnati Gazette.]

Romance and Reality.

An American in Paris says he could get round "Uncle Tom" after a fashion by saying it was a romance; but then the National Intelligencer and other papers come laden with advertisements of the sale of slaves, &c. That is substantial. It is reality. There is no dodging it.

The American in Paris writes as follows: "I have already made my complaint of the troubles brought on Americans here by that 'incendiary' book of Mrs. Stowe's, especially of the difficulty we have in making the French understand our institutions. But there was one partially satisfactory way of answering their questions, by saying that Uncle Tom's Cabin was a romance. And this would have served the purpose pretty well, and spared our blushes for the model Republic, if the slaveholders themselves would only withhold their testimony to the truth of what we were willing to let pass as fiction. But they are worse than Mrs. Stowe herself, and their writings are getting to be quoted here quite extensively. The Monitor of to-day, and another widely circulated journal that lies on my table, both contain extracts from those extremely incendiary periodicals, the National Intelligencer, of Feb. 11, and the New Orleans Picayune, of Feb. 17. The first gives an auctioneer's advertisement of the sale of "a negro boy of 18 years, a negro aged 10, three horses, and saddles, bridles, wheelbarrows," &c. Then follows an account of the sale, which reads very much like the description in the dramatic feuilletons here, of a famous scene in the 'Case de l'Oncle Tom,' as played at the Ambigu Comique. The second extract is the advertisement of 'our esteemed fellow citizen, Mr. M. C. Goff,' who presents his respects to the inhabitants of Ouacheta and the neighboring parishes, and informs them that he keeps a fine pack of dogs trained to catch negroes, &c."

and each Postmaster is allowed two mills for every delivery from his office to a subscriber of each newspaper not chargeable with postage.

The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

SALEM, OHIO, APRIL 30, 1853.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets May 1.

OFFICE REMOVED.

The office of the Bugle has been removed to the third story of the Brick building, Corner of Main and Ellsworth Streets, (old American House.) Where all who want Printing done are invited to call. They will find Mr. Hudson ever ready to accommodate.

NOTICE.

Mrs. ROBINSON, has withdrawn from the Publishing Agency of the Bugle, and is succeeded by ANN PEARSON, to whom letters of business relative to the paper should hereafter be addressed.

Her residence is on Green St., next door east of James Barnaby's, where she will be found, ready to attend to any business connected with the paper.

Those who have heretofore been in the habit of calling for their papers at Samuel Brooke's store, will hereafter call for them at the printing office.

CINCINNATI CONVENTION.—An accident upon the railroad, delayed our return from Cincinnati, until it was too late for the insertion in full of the proceedings of this interesting convention. For the same reason we are prevented from saying the much we desire to, in regard to it. It was a glorious occasion. All classes of Abolitionists were represented, and mingled together with freedom and hearty good will.—There was free thought—free speech, and there were free men and women. There was union without compromise, difference of opinion and free discussion, with harmony of purpose and fraternal feeling. And to the credit of Cincinnati and of the immense audiences which assembled to hear, it should be said, that they listened with the deepest attention and the most perfect decorum, to the clearest exposure of national and individual guilt, and to the sharpest rebukes. But we shall have more to say next week.

Cincinnati Anti-Slavery Convention.

This Convention assembled on Tuesday the 19th inst, at Masonic Hall. The exercises were commenced by prayer by Rev. John Rankin.—After which the following officers were elected.

PRESIDENT, SAMUEL LEWIS, of Cincinnati.

VICE PRESIDENTS, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and Charles Lenox Remond, of Massachusetts; Geo. W. Julian, and Judge Stephens, of Indiana, Mrs. S. Otis Ernst, Mrs. M. A. Guild, and Dr. W. H. Brisbane, of Ohio.

SECRETARIES, J. W. Chaffin of Clinton Co., J. W. Townner of Medina Co., and Mr. Langston of Lorain.

BUSINESS COMMITTEE, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Dr. Brisbane, Judge Stephens, Dr. A. Brooke, G. W. Julian, M. R. Robinson, Christian Donson, Mrs. Julia A. Harwood, Mrs. Elizabeth T. Coleman and Mrs. Sarah O. Ernst.

FINANCE COMMITTEE, Andrew H. Ernst and Mr. Harwood.

Mr. Lewis, on taking the chair, said he understood he had been selected because he was known as the representative of the principles the convention had met to advocate.

This Convention was called by the Anti-Slavery Ladies of this place, with a view to get together all the Anti-Slavery sentiment we can to deliberate with a view to the carrying on the progress of these principles. There will be different sentiments advanced, and we must not expect to agree entirely with all that is said.—But we ought to start with the understanding that the utmost liberty is allowed to all so far as is consistent with order and the purpose of the Convention, and we ought to feel the utmost deference to the opinions of others. We are the representatives of a new era.

When our fathers landed on this continent, they declared certain principles as the basis of their colonies and communities, and they are carried out into what we call a republic, and these principles are broader and purer than any ever declared in any other country. But they did not probably have a full appreciation of those principles. The prophets of old who spoke of their progress and triumph of the Gospel did not fully understand its extent and magnitude. It has been the business of ages to develop these principles and bring out the great maxims of universal justice and right. We should allow no organizations whatever to hedge us up from the most thorough inquiry into what is right and true.

And I ask that portion of the audience who are particularly devoted to the doctrines of Christianity, if they shall hear any remark censuring any class of religionists not to conclude that Christianity is denounced. I ask you to draw the distinction between the thing itself and that which claims to represent it. It is because these organizations are unfaithful, that our movement is necessary.

Mr. Remond wished to say that if this question embodied in it anything of importance, it not alone concerned the colored man, but attached itself to our entire country and countrymen, and was worthy the consideration of all. The colored people are the present greatest sufferers, but he believed many of our political and religious great men, were greater slaves. Slavery was to be abolished, by the powerful influence of American moral sentiment on the one hand, and of foreign countries on the other. He had almost despaired, but he was becoming more hopeful. The day is soon to dawn, when the

Just at the close of the late Congress, the Compensation of Postmasters was changed, and their commissions now rate as follows:—True Democrat.

On a sum not exceeding \$100, 50 per cent
On a sum between \$100 and \$400 40 per cent
On a sum between \$400 and 2,400 35 per cent

When the mails arrive regularly between 9 at night and 5 in the morning, 50 per cent is allowed on the first \$100

Those officers whose compensation shall not exceed \$500 a quarter, are allowed one cent for every "free" letter delivered out of their office,

colored man is to take his position in society according to his merits. He hoped to see it.

Mr. Rankin remarked upon the character and influence of the American Colonization Society.

The Business Committee through their Chairman W. L. Garrison, made the following report which was accepted for the action of the Convention.

Resolved, That the anti-slavery enterprise, as such, is neither technically evangelical nor heterodox, neither sectarian nor exclusive, neither sectarian nor complexional; but commands itself to the universal conscience and reason, as worthy of all acceptance, and constituting the corner stone of the great temple of human brotherhood, and as embodying the spirit of impartial love and disinterested philanthropy.

Resolved, That as abolitionism rejoices in the light and glories in the most searching investigation; and as it magnanimously permits those who attend its conventions either to apologize for the slaveholder or to defend the slave, either to assail or to support abolition principles, it follows that no man who claims to possess any manhood or any faith in God has any excuse for absenting himself from that platform, but should be willing to avow his own convictions, or be freely interrogated as to his position in regard to those who are pining in the American house of bondage.

Resolved, That if persons of conflicting religious or political views can do associate together for purposes of gain or for the promotion of any other measure touching the general welfare, without being responsible for each others' sentiments on other subjects than the one distinctive purpose they have in view, then they can and should coalesce for the deliverance of our enslaved countrymen without being held responsible for the peculiar sentiments they may entertain on any other question aside from that of slavery.

The hours for assembling and adjournment were then agreed upon, after which the Convention adjourned.

AFTERNOON.

The resolutions of the morning were taken up and advocated by Mr. Garrison. On introducing him to the audience, Mr. Lewis remarked:—

I think more than the usual formalities are necessary. This is a meeting in which all are permitted and asked to express their views.—No doubt Mr. Garrison has his peculiar views. He is known by reputation at least to all the old Abolitionists, and however we may differ from him in some respects we must accord the greatest integrity to him, and if any one has stood in the breach, and received the arrows of bitterness and spite, it is he. He and I may differ on some subjects and we may discuss them, but on the great subject of the rights of man we must do cordially agree. Western audiences are cautioned against him, because he is not orthodox; but that is not the question, he will discuss the rights of man, a subject intimately connected with our happiness. No one will question my orthodoxy unless it is on the subject of a love of liberty (I have always been rather heterodox in popular view) but let me say that if proslavery teachers are to expound Christianity, then am I an infidel. I deem the idea that a man may be a slaveholder and a Christian more odious than any of the notions which are called infidel in Anti-Slavery men.

Mr. Garrison said, I thank you, Mr. President, from the bottom of my heart for your kindness. I am a stranger here, it is my first visit to your city, and if I am known to you at all it is as a madman, a disorganizer or infidel. I have long since learned that there is a great difference between notoriety and popularity. I am very notorious but not popular. The world moves on. When I went forth for the slave 20 years ago almost every man met me with "Sir, I am not an abolitionist," but now every man says: "Sir I want you to understand that I am an abolitionist as well as you are, but not a Garrisonian abolitionist." There is some difference between their position then and now, but whatever merit there may be in their disclaiming this kind of abolitionism I must say for myself that I am a Garrisonian abolitionist [laughter]. I might get my name altered, but I suppose I am fated to live and die a Garrisonian abolitionist.

He believed God had created all men equal, and in carrying this doctrine impartially into practice, without respect to persons throughout the country and the world. He had taken the American people at their word, and asked for the application of the principle to the whole world. He could not compromise with sects or parties, but must demand liberty for the slave come what would. This is the true test. How well he had lived up to it, let slaveholders and thousands of fugitive slaves testify. This question has unmasked us all. It is the test question of the age.

There are many excuses for not joining the anti-slavery cause. Some say, "you oppose and assail the churches." Well the time was when we did not oppose the churches, when we venerated her almost to idolatry, and yet you did not walk with us.

When I commenced, I had not the most distant idea of coming in contact with the Government or the Church; all I saw was the love broken and bleeding, and I felt willing to take my lot with him and never rise till he did. As to the Church and politics, I knew nothing, and I could only do the work given me at that time, but to my consternation and horror I found the supposed pure and holy Church of Christ with a heart as hard as adamant against the slave. As an honest man, what could I do but say that a Church which does not pity the slave, is not the church of Christ, and never was, but is a synagogue of Satan. This is not said of the Church as a whole—we speak of things in popular language. So I had to stand by the Church, and give up the slave, or the contrary. I did the latter—you say it is infidelity. Very well. I have assailed only proslavery Churches. I have assailed no Church for its peculiar dogmas. I challenge any man to show it. We are bound to assail pro-slavery

everywhere; if a Church denies the charge of pro-slavery, that is a fair issue, and if she can show it, we must stand convicted of falsifying her.

Mr. Garrison proceeded to remark in similar manner upon the objections of opposition to the clergy and disbelief in the Bible, the Sabbath, &c., to show that belief in these opinions could not be any test of character, because they were popular. He would not ask of a man who came from Italy, what he thought of Christ, or whether he believed the Bible. But he would ask him, what do you think of Mazzini, and the cause of Liberty there?—So if he came from Austria. If his answer was, I love Kossuth and Hungary, he knew all about him. What is a test of character in one country is no test in another. Anti-Slavery is no test in England. The Queen, Prince Albert, and the aristocracy are abolitionists. With us it is the test question, proving the wheat and the chaff.

EVENING SESSION.

The Business Committee reported the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Abolitionists of this country are as much interested in the welfare, prosperity and safety of the slave-holders, as they are in the liberation and elevation of the slaves; that in the abolition of the entire slave system, no actual property will be impaired or destroyed, but every kind of property will be enhanced and improved in value; that freedom is industrious, economical, enterprising, and fertile in useful expedients and beneficent discoveries, while slavery is indolent, wasteful, turning into barrenness the most fruitful soil, and paralyzing all the inventive and progressive faculties; and that emancipation can be as triumphantly defended on the ground of political economy and material prosperity, as it can on moral and religious principles.

Resolved, That by turning slave labor into free labor, and inspiring it with the hope of remuneration, instead of coercing it under the lash, the entire South may be made the abode of peace and plenty, and the very Eden of our land.

Resolved, That the deadliest enemies of the South are found among those of the North, who are arrayed against the Anti-Slavery enterprise, who represent the abolition of Slavery to be a measure fraught with incalculable evil, and who thus strengthen the slaveholder in his purpose to rivet forever the chains of his miserable victims.

The resolutions were sustained by Messrs. Garrison and Remond.

Mr. Garrison said, God had consulted the pecuniary interest of his children as much as any other. And the best thing for every man, so far as his pocket is concerned, is to obey his law to the very letter. Degradation—destitution and famine, everywhere results from disobedience. God is an infinite political economist. He has wrapped up all consequences in principles. Give me principles and I am not concerned for consequences. He is the best economist who adheres to principle. Why be afraid of the trade if you offend the South?—What is it compared with the North in enterprise, wealth and prospects? This nation is the North. The South is dependent. Talk of the South withdrawing; it is as Mrs. Maria Child said, "as if the town paupers should declare they would withdraw from the town, if they did not have more roast beef and plum pudding."

The county of Essex in Massachusetts, produces more than the State of South Carolina. But we are told of the millions of property in slaves, and asked if we suppose men will give up all this. Emancipation will not touch an atom of property. The value of the slave is in what he can produce. A man will work better for "master Cash" than for "master Lash." It is human nature, and is the same under a black skin as a white one. No kind planter ever reported remunerating his slaves. If slavery were abolished to-morrow, no man need change his position, the slaves are wanted—all they want is pay, and then no bowie knives or chains or dogs will be necessary, and everybody will be safe. The slaveholder is a man and brother, and we would do him good. Statistics on the subject are overwhelmingly against slavery in a pecuniary point of view. No doubt we shall suffer some from abolition temporarily. Suppose we do, so did our revolutionary fathers. John Hancock offered all the ships he owned on the altar of Liberty. Are not we of revolutionary stock? Let us be willing to suffer if it must be so, but remember that the longer we put the matter off the more we shall suffer. "Now is the accepted time and now is the day of salvation."

Mr. Remond followed. His speech was eloquent, marked with wit, pathos, and strong indignation against the oppressor. It was received with most hearty approbation.

SECOND DAY.

Convention met at 9 o'clock. Prayer by Rev. Mr. Yancy. The resolutions of last evening were called up and discussed by Judge Stephens, M. R. Robinson, and J. Langston.

[Continued next week.]

Reply to Joseph Barker.

Editor of the Bugle:

1st, Mr. Barker will not defend the 6th and 7th resolution, says he had nothing to do with them, "except to express his dissent from them." How then came the President and Secretaries of the convention to commit such a blunder—on whose report I fixed the responsibility of defence, on J. Barker. My apology for them, and myself, is, that we never heard his dissent till now.

2nd, But he does acknowledge the paternity of the first five, and these he is willing to discuss. He will then lead in the discussion, with five negative propositions, and have the respondent to take the place of the affirmant.—*Strange mode of warfare.*

3rd, In the fifth resolution there is an implied affirmation. Resolved, That the prevailing notion or belief, that the Bible is a book of di-

vine authority, and that we need no other guide to truth and duty, is not only altogether erroneous, but exceedingly mischievous." Here are points of agreement between Mr. Barker and myself. 1st, That man needs a guide to truth and duty. 2nd, That man has a guide, &c. 3d, That this guide consists in a revelation of God's will. The point of disagreement is simply this. Where is this guide to be found? He as the assailant, says not in the Bible. I as respondent, say, yes, in the Bible God has given us a perfect guide to truth and duty, as in Mr. Barker's own words, see report of the Bible Convention, page 33. "For myself, I believe there is a God, and that he has given a revelation of his will to mankind." We understood Mr. Barker to concur with Mr. Wright, that this revelation of God's will consisted in the divine engravings on the nature of each human being, &c. But as we now stand connected on that point, we only ask Mr. Barker not to be so cautiously non-committal, but for the enlightenment of all, to embody in an affirmative proposition, where this revelation of God's will is to be found? If not in the Bible where then? This now becomes the painfully interesting and perplexing question. I appeal to Mr. Barker's magnanimity and philanthropy, for an unequivocal answer. When I heard him in convention, I supposed we had in the person of J. Barker, a candid and honorable sceptic, who would not ask to rob the Christian of his rejoicings in Christ, without offering him something as an equivalent. If his rock is as our rock, let him show it. If there is a "guide to truth and duty," let him affirm it, define, defend it, and let the merits of the rival system be brought into a fair comparison. But if there is no guide to truth and duty, I hope he will cease to trouble this community with his notions about the wrongfulness of slavery, war, priestcraft, &c.

4th, As the books now stand, Mr. Campbell has the preference, if he will accept. As it relates to myself, I shall wait for future information, specifying only that if Mr. Barker will debate with my humble self, the proposition upon which we have agreed, that he will fix the time, giving me at least eight weeks for arranging my appointments and other matters.—I hope Mr. Barker will answer soon, and let us have done with these preliminaries.

Yours as ever,

JONAS HARTZELL.

New England Correspondence.

HYANNIS, Cape Cod, Mass. }
April 21st, 1853. }

DEAR MARIUS: One of the "existing topics" just now among us, is the question of "Woman's Rights." A Convention is to assemble early in May, to revise the Constitution of Massachusetts, and petitions are in wide circulation, to demand of that Convention, the entire removal of all legal disabilities under which woman now suffers. Several talented and devoted women are earnestly engaged in the work, both by writing and public lecturing; and "the Una," a journal recently established in Providence, under the editorship of Mrs. Paulina Wright Davis, is also a valuable auxiliary in the good work.

We are often told that the Southern slaves are contented and happy in their chains. Once, it seemed to me impossible. But when I see the condition of woman here in New England, her total and complete subjugation to man, her exclusion from the most profitable employments, and then the scanty pay she gets, as compared with men, for such work as her lords condescend to let her do, and then her "taxation without representation," taxation almost as high as that of men, notwithstanding the slow and tedious way in which she accumulates her scanty gains, her incapacity in most cases to hold or bequeath property, (either before or after her husband's death), however much her superior energy, enterprise or industry may have attributed to its accumulation, and even perhaps to keep her shiftless husband and his family from starvation, when I daily see all this, and find that most women even glory in their degradation and count their very chains, their choicest ornaments, it seems no longer strange or impossible, that thousands of Southern slaves may be happy and contented with their lot. I think the women engaged in this Reform, will find their sternest opposition among their own sex; among those who stand in the most terrible need of its elevation and its blessings.

Among those, too, in what is called "high life," both men and women, there begins to be seen the sneering, contemptuous manner and bearing towards this reform. Gilded moths and maw worms, fluttering and crawling in the sunshine of a fortune, made, [or obtained in some way], by their ancestry, and who themselves never earned the value of the shadow of a brown loaf reflected on the wall, let alone the loaf itself, are shocked all through their hysterical systems, that the poor women who toil day and night for the bread they eat, and the clothes they wear, are seeking to ameliorate their condition. O, did such creatures know, that with all their self-importance, they are really the vermin which infest society, how soon their inflation would disappear.

As the enterprise moves on, it will develop new forms of opposition, until we shall learn as never yet, what Jesus meant by "setting a man against his father, and a daughter against her mother."

This reform will yet rend many families, and scatter the fragments as the leaves of autumn. No other, really involves half so many important and vital interests. It opens the inner sanctuaries of the whole social system. It is to enter the very "holy of holies," in the family relation, and all pertaining to it. The Right of Representation, of Occupation, of Compensation, of Education, are only a part of the questions at issue; and the least important part. Equally connected with the enterprise, are the subjects of Courtship, Marriage, and Parentage, and whatever pertains to the birth of children,

who shall be their father, and how they shall be reared and educated. On none of these questions, has woman yet been really consulted. Whatever be the physical or moral defects and deformities of the husband, society holds her bound to transmit all these qualities to another generation. To refuse compliance, is a violation of her marriage vows, even though she preserves herself as pure as vestal virgins. And then in the education of children, what could be more shocking, than women on School Committees, or in any position, where they could control the public instruction! "Let them ask their husbands at home," has hitherto settled all such questions. Courtship, and marriage proposals, are equally under the control of one party, and that, the least capable of its proper regulation. The Woman's Rights Reform must take cognizance of all these, and many more equally difficult and delicate propositions.—Whatever pertains to the family relation particularly, (the only organization, probably, which God ever instituted), is to be embraced in its deep, and as yet, unrevealed contemplations.

Nations have their Revolutions, and governments and laws are changed, or overthrown in consequence. But this enterprise will achieve a revolution, more momentous than the world has yet seen—more serious in its progress, perhaps more fearful—and surely more sublime in its results and consummations.

Not many soldiers can this degenerate age furnish, for such a warfare—Many may be called—many may seem to respond—but time will show how few are chosen. Heroic spirits, only, will be able to abide the battle. And heroes will not march in squadrons out of this generation.

Men have thought that God was wholly of their own sex.—That there was no female element in his nature—no womanly attributes in his character. So they style him the "God of the Universe," and themselves "the lords of creation"—and just so far as God is above them, so far are they above woman—and while God sways the scepter of universal dominion, they constitute themselves viceroys over the whole empire of women.

The Woman's Rights movement teaches better. Man is the image and likeness of God—and man was made, male and female. God is the Father as well as male, in his Divinity. And the glory of one element is as great as the glory of the other. And the glory of both is far greater, for the mysterious union subsisting between them.

Man and woman then must live and love, and act in a divine harmony. God joined them together. Together only are they the image of the Divine. Nor can the head say to the heart, I have no need of thee. Almighty wisdom, love, and power made the twin one—joined them together. We must ever be to whatever or whatever puts them asunder.

Yours for every good word and work,
PARKER PILLSBURY.

Letter from Frances D. Gage.

ST. LOUIS, Missouri.
Dear EMILY: We arrived in this busy city, on Friday, the 4th of April—six days from McConnellsville. Our trip was in every way prosperous, though I could not say it was as agreeable as it would have been, had the crowd of emigrants to the "far West" been less.

But it was a fine place to study human nature. I don't know how it is, that others make such hard estimates of humanity. For myself, I never examine closely the thoughts, habits, and feelings of a race of men, women, and children, but I find a preponderance of the good and beautiful, in the same thoughts, habits and feelings. Even the coarsest and most unkind, if we look closely, will discover to us more of lightness than of darkness, and the "angel over the right shoulder" makes two marks to the one over the left. There are no perfect people in this world. But we all seem to be so earnestly looking out for them, that we see nothing but the defects. And one spot, or crack, or loose joint, in a character, spoils it as entirely for our use, as a blot, crack or loose joint would a side-board or sofa from a cabinet ware room.—But if we could but conclude to take it second hand and endure the pain, we should soon find the article comfortable, useful and convenient, and in the course of time, learn to endure blemish if we could not correct it, for the sake of the good. But I did not intend to moralize, only to tell you that we are all safe in our new home. We are beginning to live once more, and to feel that this house of brick upon the street, with brick walls each side, and a cold pavement back and front, (oh! how unlike our flower-bedecked garden on Mt. Airy,) is our hired home. And we look out upon the strange faces and forms that flit by with every passing moment, and feel all the force of Byron's description of solitude:—

"Amid the crowd, the hum, the shock of men. To see, to hear, to feel, and to possess,
To roam along this world, tired, dizen, With none to bless us, none whom we can bless.

Minions of splendor, shrinking from distress, Not one with kindred consciousness endow'd,
If we were not, would seem to smile the less On all who follow'd, flatter'd, sought or sued,
This is to be alone, this, this is solitude."

The weather has been beautiful, for April, and St. Louis is putting on its summer finery, as fast as spring breezes and sunshine will let it; not that it has as much to put on as Cleveland, or Cincinnati, of pink and green, yet it has much, very much that is beautiful and cheering to the eye and heart. In promenading the streets, I see but little of what seems squalid poverty, and hopeless, helpless misery.

In the bustle of getting to housekeeping, I have had no time, however, to think of any thing but that which immediately concerned my own household, and can tell you but little of the habits, manners and customs of the people. The shops are showy, the ladies on the street richly, almost gaudily dressed, many of them; the men, active, bustling, driving; except when you see the sign of depravity and

degradation hung out, (and these signs are by no means like angels' visits); there the crowd "that most do congregate," look as in other places under like circumstances, as if they had sold themselves, body and soul, to the fell destroyer, and that there was no hope of redemption for them, save in the total prohibition of the unholy traffic.

"Oh, that men will put an enemy
In their mouths to steal away their brains;
Thou invisible spirit of wine,
If thou hast no other name to be known by,
I will call thee devil!"

There is, perhaps, no city in the Union, of its size, where more of the "ardent" is bought and sold, than in this. But the spirit of reform is here, weaker, perhaps, than in Ohio, but still living and breathing earnest with life.

I have found among the few that I have talked with, one Woman's Rights man,—one who professes heart and soul to be in favor of the onward progress of the sex—and I think I shall find women leaning that way, as soon as I have time or opportunity to sound them.

Slavery is here, but in "its mildest form," so say the people. There is an outspoken testimony against it: the National Era and the New York Tribune are popular papers with the citizens,—and I have heard the "peculiar institution" as harshly dealt by, since I came to the city, as Parker Pillsbury himself, would desire. If it were not for this foul blot upon the escutcheon of this great State, so full of internal wealth, and external prosperity, I could learn to love Missouri, and why should I not, even with that; not its slavery, not its unjust and inhuman laws that bind one man the chattel slave of another, but its hills and valleys, its fields and woods, and its mighty masses of people coming from all quarters of the globe, to make a home here. Are not all brethren and children of the same Father? and does not the same sun warm, the same breezes refresh, and the same all-wise Jehovah, send his rain upon the just and unjust? Why then shall I not endeavor to be happy, striving ever earnestly and hopefully, to persuade those about me to walk by the light that gives peace and joy to my own soul. "Struggling for the fight"—for the right and true, and endeavoring to draw others with me if I find the wished for good. Such is my present resolve, such my earnest desire and prayer. Yet my heart turns longingly to Ohio,—it grieves for it as a child for its mother, and tears unbidden will start when I think of the friends so loved, far away. But I am with you in spirit. Ever with you in Love and hope.

FRANCES D. GAGE.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Anniversary is appointed to be held at the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, on Wednesday Evening, May 11th, when the Annual Report will be presented, and the meeting addressed by several distinguished speakers.

WILLIAM JAY,
S. S. JOCELYN,
J. W. C. PENNINGTON,
JOSHUA LEAVITT,
LEWIS TAPPAN,
Com. of Arrangements.

NINETEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN Anti-Slavery Society.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the city of NEW YORK, AT THE CHINESE ASSEMBLY ROOM, No. 539 BROADWAY, ON WEDNESDAY, May 11th, 1853, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.

THE BUSINESS MEETINGS OF THE Society will be held in the large COMMITTEE ROOM of the same building, on the AFTERNOON of WEDNESDAY, May 11, and on THURSDAY. It is very desirable that large delegations from all parts of the country shall be in attendance, not only at the public Anniversary, but at the subsequent private meetings for the transaction of important business in relation to proposed operations of the Society for the ensuing year.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, PRESIDENT.
WENDELL PHILLIPS, SECRETARIES.
S. H. GAY,

Receipts for The Bugle for the week ending April 27th.

E. P. Townsend, New Brighton,	3.00-390
Malinda S. Slayter, Limville,	1.00-404

A Female Teacher wanted for District, No. 10, in Smith Tp., one of good qualifications will receive good wages.

JOHN W. SATTERTHWAITE,
Dis. Clerk.

FANCY AND BONNET STORE.

MRS. S. H. GALBREATH & MISS A. M. HOUGH, have opened a FANCY GOODS and BONNET STORE, in Salem, on Main St., South side, opposite Thomas & Greiners. They have just received a choice assortment of Ribbons, Artificial Flowers, and Trimmings of all varieties, for Dresses, Bonnets, &c. They are prepared to execute with promptness, all orders in MILLINERY and MANTUA MAKING, in the most approved style and in the latest fashion.

Instruction given in Millinery and Mantua-making, on reasonable terms.
Salem, April 30, 1853.

JOHN C. WHINERY.

SURGEON DENTIST!—Office over the Salem Book Store.—The subscriber would inform his friends and the public, that he is again at his post. Having spent several months in Cincinnati, in making himself minutely acquainted with the various branches of his Profession; he feels confident of being able to render the fullest satisfaction to those who may require his services.
Salem, March 5, 1853.

NEW BOOKS.

A General assortment of New Books and Stationery; Also,

Wall Paper and Notions.

Just opened at McMillan's BOOK-STORE, which the public are requested to call and examine.

April 7, 1853.

Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin.

Just received at McMillan's Book Store.

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MATERIALS for Artificial Flowers. A full assortment at the Salem Book Store.

Thackeray's Books.

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White Slave and Uncle Tom.

At McMillan's Book-Store.

Fancies of a Whimsical Man and Hoods Humorous Works.

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HAWTHORNE'S & GRACE AGUILAR'S WRITINGS.

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Andrew Jackson Davis' Works.

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A Good assortment of Wall Paper, Window Paper and Fire Board Prints, at McMillan's Book-Store.

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Every Book in the Market can be procured by calling at J. McMillan's Cheap Book-Store, five doors East of the Town Hall, Main-St., Salem, O.

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N. Side Main-St., One Door West of Salem Book-Store, Salem, Ohio.

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Terms, three dollars in ordinary cases, payable weekly. Dr. T. L. Nichols, of the American Hydropathic Institute, and Editor of the Nichols' Health Journal, in noticing the Water Cure movements of the country, says of us:—"Dr. Freese, a most thorough and energetic physician, has a Water Cure at Sugar Creek Falls, O. His terms are very moderate, but there are few places we could recommend with greater confidence."

Address, Dr. S. Freese, Deardoff's Mills, Tuscarawas Co., O.
February 19, 1853.

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For further particulars, address, (postage paid.)

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FOR THE CURE OF CHRONIC DISEASES

Located at GRANVILLE, Licking Co., O., and combines the advantages of other good establishments, a healthy location, a supply of pure water, gymnastics, a skilled lady in charge of the female patients, a physician who has had an extensive practice of 25 years, &c., &c.

Selected Articles.

From Eliza Cook's Journal.

Curiosities of Great Men—Their Moments of Composition.

Among the curious facts which we find in perusing the biographies of great men, are the circumstances connected with the composition of the works which have made them immortal.

For instance, Bossuet composed his grand sermons on his knees; Bulwer wrote his first novels in full dress, seated; Milton, before commencing his great work, invoked the influences of the Holy Spirit, and prayed that his lips might be touched with a live coal from off the altar, Chrysostom meditated and studied while contemplating a painting of St. Paul.

Bacon knelt down before composing his great work, and prayed for light from heaven. Pope never could compose well without first reclining at the top of his voice, and thus rousing his nervous system to its fullest activity.

Bentham composed after playing a prelude on the organ, or whilst taking his "post-prandial" walks in his garden—the same by the way, that Milton occupied. St. Bernard composed his Meditations amidst the woods; he delighted in nothing so much as the solitude of the dense forest, finding there, he said, something more profound and suggestive than anything he could find in books. The storm would sometimes fall upon him there, without for a moment interrupting his meditations.

Cannous composed his verses with the roar of battle in his ears; for the Portuguese poet was a soldier, and a brave one, though a poet. He composed others of his most beautiful verses at the time when his Indian slave was begging a subsistence for him in the streets. Tasso wrote his finest pieces in the lucid intervals of madness.

Rosseau wrote his works early in the morning; Le Sage at midday; Byron at midnight. Hardouin rose at four in the morning, and wrote till late at night.

Aristotle was a tremendous worker; he took little sleep, and was constantly retrenching it. He had a contrivance by which he awoke early, and to awake with him to commence work. Demosthenes passed three months in a cavern by the sea side, laboring to overcome the defects of his voice. There he read, studied, and declaimed.

Rabelais composed his Life of Gargantua at Bellay, in the company of Roman cardinals, and under the eyes of the Bishop of Paris. La Fontaine wrote most of his fables chiefly under the shade of a tree, and sometimes by the side of Racine and Boileau. Pascal wrote most of his Thoughts on little scraps of paper, at his by-moments. Fendou wrote at the court of the Grand Monarque, when his Telemachus in the palace of Versailles, charging the duties of tutor to the Dauphin. That a book so thoroughly democratic should have issued from such a source, and been written by a priest, may seem surprising. De Quency first promulgated his notion of universal freedom, of person and trade, and of throwing all taxes on the land—the germ, perhaps, of the French Revolution—in the *baudoir* of Mad. de Pompadour.

Luther, when studying, always had his dog lying at his feet—a dog he had brought from Wartburg, and of which he was very fond. An ivory crucifix stood on the table before him, and the walls of the study were stuck round with caricatures of the Pope. He worked at his desk for days together, without going out; but when fatigued, and the ideas began to stagnate in his brain, he would take his flute or his guitar with him into the porch, and there execute some musical fantasy (for he was a skillful musician,) when the ideas would flow upon him as fresh as flowers after a summer's rain. Music was his invariable solace at such times. Indeed, Luther did not hesitate to say, that after theology, music was the first of arts. "Music," said he, "is the art of the prophet; it is only the other art which like theology can calm the agitation of the soul, and put the devil to flight." Next to music, if not before it, Luther loved children and flowers. That great gaunt man, had a heart as tender as a woman's.

Calvin studied in his bed. Every morning, at five or six o'clock, he took books, manuscripts and papers carried to him there, and worked on for hours together. If he had occasion to go out, on his return he undressed and went to bed again to continue his studies. In his latter years he dictated his writing to secretaries. He rarely corrected anything. The sentences issued complete from his mouth. If he felt his facility of composition leaving him, he forthwith quitted his bed, gave up writing and composing, and went about his out-door duties for days, weeks and months together. But as soon as he felt the inspiration fall upon him again, he went back to his secretaries and set to work forthwith.

Cujas, another learned man, used to study when laid all his length upon the carpet, his face toward the floor, and there he revealed amidst piles of books which accumulated about him. The learned Anyot never studied without the harpsichord beside him; and he only quitted the pen to play it. Bentham, also, was extremely fond of the piano forte, and he had one in nearly every room in his house.

Richelieu amused himself in the intervals of his labor, with a squadron of cats, of whom he was very fond.

He used to go to bed at eleven at night, and after reading three hours, rise and write, dictate or work, till from six to eight o'clock in the morning, when his daily levee was held. This worthy student displayed an extravagance equaling that of Wolsey. His annual expenditure was four millions of francs, or about £170,000.

How different the fastidious temperance of Milton! He drank water and lived on the humblest fare. In his youth he studied during the greatest part of the night; but in his more advanced years he went early to bed—by nine o'clock—rising to his studies at four in summer and five in winter. He studied to midday; then he took an hour's exercise, and after dinner he sang and played the organ, or listened to the others' music. He studied again till six, and from that hour till night he engaged in conversation with friends who came to see him. Then he supped, smoked a pipe of tobacco, drank a glass of water, and went to bed. Glorious visions came to him in the night, for it was then, while lying in his couch, that he composed in thought the greater part of his sublime poem. Sometimes when the fit of com-

position came strong upon him, he would call his daughter to his side, to commit to paper that which he had composed.

Milton was of the opinion that the verses composed by him between the autumnal and spring equinoxes were always the best, and he was never satisfied with the verses he had written at any other season. Alfieri, on the contrary, said that the equinoctial winds produced a state of almost "complete stupidity" in him. Like the nightingales, he could only sing in summer. It was his favorite season.

Pierre Corneille, in his loftiest flights of imagination, was often brought to a stand still for want of words and rhyme. Thoughts were seething in his brain, which he vainly tried to reduce to order, and he would often run to his Thomas "for a word." Thomas rarely failed him. Sometimes in his fits of inspiration, he would bandage his eyes, throw himself upon the sofa, and dictate to his wife, who almost worshipped his genius. Thus he would pass whole days, dictating to her his great tragedies; his wife scarcely ventured to speak, almost afraid to breathe. Afterwards, when a tragedy was finished, he would call in his sister Marthe, and submit it to her judgment, as Moliere used to consult his old house-keeper about the comedies he had newly written.

Racine composed his verses while walking about reciting them in a loud voice. One day, when thus working at his play of *Mithridates*, in the Tuileries Gardens, a crowd of workmen gathered around him, attracted by his gestures; they took him to be a madman about to throw himself into the basin. On his return home from such walks, he would write down scene by scene, at first in prose, and when he had thus written it out, he would exclaim—"My tragedy is done," considering the dressing of the acts up in a verse a very small affair.

Magliabechi, the learned librarian to the Duke of Tuscany, on the contrary, never stirred abroad but lived amidst books, and lived upon books. They were his bed, board and washing. He passed eight and forty years in their midst, only twice in the course of his life venturing beyond the walls of Florence, once to go to leagues off, and the other three and a half leagues by order of the Grand Duke. He was an extremely frugal man, living upon eggs, bread and water, in great moderation.

The life of Lieboitz was one of reading, writing and meditation. That was the secret of his prodigious knowledge. After an attack of gout, he confined himself to a diet of bread and milk. Often he slept in a chair; and rarely went to bed till after midnight. Sometimes he was months without quitting his seat, where he slept by night and wrote by day. He had an ulcer in his right leg, which prevented his walking about, even had he wished to do so.

Spring Concert.

BY MRS. L. H. SIGOURNEY.

There's a concert, a concert of gladness and glee,
The programme is rich and the tickets are free;
In a grand vaulted hall, where there's room and to spare,

With no gas-lights to eat up the oxygen there,
The musicians excel in their wonderful art,
They have compass of voice and the gamut by heart;

They travelled abroad in the winter recess,
And sung to vast crowds with unbounded success,

And now 'tis a favor, a privilege rare
Their arrivals to hail, and their melodies share.

These exquisite minstrels a fashion have set,
Which they hope to comply with and may not regret.

They don't keep late hours, for they've always been told,
"Wouldn't injure their voices, and make them look old."

They invite you to come, if you have a fine ear,
To the garden or grove, their rehearsals to hear;
Their chorus is full ere the sunbeam is born,
Their music the sweetest at breaking of morn;

It was learned at heaven's gate, with its rapturous lays,
And may teach you, perchance its own spirit of praise.

St. Augustine.

St. Augustine is said to be the oldest city in the United States. Its appearance is thus described by a correspondent of the N. Y. Commercial Advertiser:

"You would feel amazed at the apparent quietness of St. Augustine, should you ever visit it; a seaport, without a vessel in port or in sight, of any description, and but three or four yaws. I say apparent quietness, for I am speaking of our doors, but in doors the case is very different. Balls and parties are frequent. Those disposed to attend them can have the opportunity almost every night. Mask balls are also in vogue. The people are hospitable, but how they live, and what they live upon, is a question I cannot answer. There is employment for none except laborers or negroes, who perform the usual routine of every day duty. A cart or carriage is seldom seen in the streets, except when in use by some of the invalids or visitors. The lower classes (for I have not seen a beggar since I came here) live on fish and oysters, procured in the harbor and adjacent waters; and although I have been out early and late, I have never seen any kind of victuals go in or come out of any house, or sniffed the perfume of the kitchen in passing through or along the houses; yet it is very evident they live on something else besides air—the women fresh and plump, the men only middling. This town or city was, until a few years ago, filled and surrounded by orange groves, giving it a most beautiful and romantic appearance, and affording nourishment and support, by the use and sale of the delicious fruit, to the inhabitants. An frost destroyed them almost in a night, and an insect, before unknown or harmless, has since infected the trees, and destroyed what the frost left, as well as discouraged the inhabitants from cultivating any more. The consequence is, that the place presents the appearance of desolation; you can hardly conceive of one more ruined and unsightly."

position came strong upon him, he would call his daughter to his side, to commit to paper that which he had composed.

From the Oberlin Evangelist.
The Little Stranger's Burial.

Returned from the funeral scenes of a little orphan fugitive from slavery, who has just now found a refuge in our grave yard, we sit down to sketch them for the sake of our readers.

Lee Howard Dobbins, a colored child of some four years, was brought into our village some few days since, in the last stages of consumption. His mother died two years since, but in her last hour committed this little one to the compassionate care of a fellow slave-mother, by whom he was brought here to die. He had a father—but of him humanity makes no particular account. He was one of those fathers who own property in the flesh and bones of their children, to whom therefore a sick and dying boy is a valueless thing. His natural mother seems never to have thought of such a father as a protector of her child. Instinctively she turns for human sympathy and help to a sister slave-mother and not in vain. The latter promptly accepted the trust, and heroically did she fulfill it. She nursed the feeble one along with the other little ones of her fold, till the hour came to strike for freedom, and then with a babe of her own on one arm, and this sick helpless one on the other, she bade her other children follow, and fled. A hand more than human guiding and sustaining, they were set down among us, in safety. The little sick one could go no farther. With many bitter tears this mother by adoption tore herself away and left him here, till God opened his Great House of Refuge, and took the fugitive orphan home!

Upon this community it devolved to perform the last offices of sympathy for the orphan boy, and not often has such a call been responded to more promptly. More than one thousand persons were present at this funeral. From many an eye unused to tears, they "would unbidden start." We thought of the horrible system which gives to thousands of little babes no earthly father, save such as would chase down and sell them for the gold-value of their bones and muscles. We thought now this same system tears away from its babes the mothers God gave and dooms them to more than orphanage— orphanage among human flesh-mongers! We thought how kind it is in God to open the grave as a hiding-place, over whose threshold even Slavery cannot stride, to reach its fleeing, escaping victims. But oh, how terrible must be that mode of life from which death is a refuge! We looked upon the wasted form of this babe of years, as one of many thousands yearly born to orphanage and bondage—whom slavery rears and fattens for its shambles—who have natural mothers to love and cherish them while they may, but often have only unnatural fathers who chase them down if they fly for freedom, and whom this nation clothes with its whole power for their merciless work.

We thought—and from our aching heart, we asked—How long, O Lord, how long? How long ere it shall be said—"Verily, there is a God who judgeth in the earth?"

The heroism of this fleeing and escaping slave-mother, had she been Pole or Spartan, and not of the doomed race, would have earned for her immortal fame. Two daughters grown to womanhood, one of them with an infant in her arms, she learns, are sold to go down the river. (Her husband was already sold and gone.) It is too much for a brave and bold heart to bear, and at once her plans are laid—for freedom. It matters not that she has one infant of her own upon one arm, and this adopted, sick, and almost dying one, on the other,—it hinders not that there are three other lads to be taken along—a company of nine, and not one man on whose strong arm and steadfast heart, they can lean;—it daunts them not that hounds and horses, and yet more savage men, will surely be upon their track—for what will not the heroism of a slave-mother, in agony for her sold daughters, do and dare? Perhaps she had faith in God. At least, let spirit reminds us of those ancient men of faith who "out of weakness were made strong."

And shall it be still demanded of this oppressed race, that they prove their birthright in the human family? Posterity will love to accord to them this honor, while it must grudge, if not deny it to their oppressors!

Since writing the above we opened Henry Bibb's Voice of the Fugitive, published in Canada West, opposite Detroit, turned to the column of "Local Matters," "The operations of the underground rail-road," and found the following welcome paragraph, which should be connected with the history as above:

"Since the above was written, a woman with seven children and one grandchild, have arrived on the last train. They ran away from Rice Bolton, of Dover, Ky. These were all the slaves which she possessed. This woman wishes to say to her old master, that she has landed safe with all her children, and that she unexpectedly met with her brother Thornton in Canada, within ten minutes after she landed here, and that she found him doing well. She also thanks him for selling her two eldest daughters to the soul-drivers for \$1800, for it was this that caused her to flee away with them to a land of liberty."

A freight train travelling at the rate of twenty-four miles the hour, requires on a level 546 yards to come to a stop, and 79 1-2 seconds of time. A passenger train at the rate of 45 miles the hour, cannot be brought up in less than 779 yards, but takes rather less time, only 60.8 seconds. Two trains, therefore, approaching each other at a speed of 24 miles the hour, will experience a collision, if the brakes are not brought to bear when they are about 1100 yards or nearly two-thirds of a mile, asunder.

From the co-operation of the faculties, their cultivation increases their power in a geometrical ratio.

The School Mistress.

BY MARY IRVING.

She sits among her little flock
Of flaxen heads and restless feet;
Like water trickling o'er a rock,
Her tones keep on their cadence sweet.

Her lips are smiling quietly,
Yet with an effort to be glad,
Lest childhood's sparkling gaiety
Be shadowed by a smile too sad.

The smile is sweetest in her eye—
Yet there is something in its gleam
That seems to say you know not why,
The shadow of a broken dream.

The sun is winking through the blinds,
And pulses bound to be at play
Out among the truant winds
That murmur of the grassy May.

Bright eyes look dreamily on books,
And pulses unbidden lessons there,
Of humble-bees, and flowers and brooks,
And arrows whistling through the air.

The gentle watcher gently chides,
With "half a smile and half a sigh;
For in her heart a whisper hides,
That pleads for sunshine and blue sky!

But lessons must be learned; and so,
With words that rouse and words that win,
She wiles the restless ramblers through
Life's first, life's lightest discipline!

From the N. Y. Eve. Post.

Olden Time—A Curious Relic—The Original Deed of Staten Island.

Among the curious papers in the New York Historical Society is the original grant of Staten Island from the Indians to Governor Lovelace. Before the American Revolution it was in the possession of Henry Kipp of New York. Then it was in the hands of Sidney Breece, Casinovia, N. Y., and given by him to Mr. Hazard, of Philadelphia, who presented it to the New York Historical Society. It is a most remarkable fact that the half of the third sheet of this document was lost for forty-two years, but afterwards found among some old papers belonging to the Historical Society, when it was restored to its original place. Thus the deed is again complete, and any descendants of the Knickerbockers of the Huguenots who first settled that beautiful island, may see the original grant of its soil fairly purchased of the Indian owners and paid for.

The indenture was made on the "13th day of April 1676, in the 22d year of Charles 2d, by the Grace of God, Defender of the Faith, &c., between Francis Lovelace, Governor-General, under James, Duke of York, and Albany, &c., and the Indians Aquepo, Varines, Minqua, Sachemack, Permentoes, Quequewen, Wemaneva, Oueck, and Mataris, on behalf of themselves as the true owners and lawful Indian proprietors of Staten Island." They also declare "that they, the Sachems, are now the very true, sole and lawful Indian owners of said island, and all singular premises, as being derived to them by their ancestors." It was also bargained that the Indians then residing on the island should have liberty to remain there until the first of May next, when they were to surrender it to such persons as the governor should please to appoint.

De Vries, the early Dutch navigator, had visited the island thirty-two years before this period, (in 1638) who claimed it by patent from the West Indian Company. He calls the Indian inhabitants HOWE-ATANS, and the island itself MOSKONG. I believe that John Anthon, Esq., has named his splendid place on the heights of the Quarantine after this aboriginal patronymic.

The payments agreed upon for the purchase of Staten Island, conveyed this day by ye Indians Sachem's propiety, is viz:

1. Four hundred fathoms of Wampum.
2. Thirty Match Boots.
3. Eight Coats of Durreen's made-up.
4. Thirty Shirts.
5. Thirty Kettles.
6. Twenty Gunnes.
7. A Firkin of Powder.
8. Sixty Barres of Lead.
9. Thirty Axes.
10. Thirty Hoes.
11. Fifty Knives.

"It was covenanted that two or three of the said Sachems, their heirs, or successors, or persons employed by them once in every year, on the first day of May, after their surrender, repair to the fort and acknowledge their sale to the governor, and continue in mutual friendship."

Would not these parcels of the OLDEN TIME make a good literary dish for the Sons of St. Tammany or St. Nicholas, to smoke over, at some of their rich dinners? G. P. D.
Dec. 22, 1852.

The Poor Man's Song.

WINTER NIGHT.

There's a cold that cannot pierce us;
There's a frown each heart may brave;
There's a woe that cannot reach us—
They are thine, O dreamy grave!

There are loves that weary never;
There are ties ne'er coldly riv'n;
There are souls that never wrong us—
They are thine alone, sweet Heaven!

Earthly scorn is changed to kindness;
Earthly want to boundless store;
Earthly means are turned to music—
On a not far distant shore!

Ne'er a traveler's lip confirmed it;
Yet 'tis writ in promises fair!
Staff and scrip have long been ready—
I've the heart to journey there!

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THE DAILY TIMES, published every morning and evening, upon a large and handsomely printed sheet of eight pages, contains a LARGE AMOUNT AND GREATER VARIETY OF READING, LITERARY, POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS, EDUCATIONAL AND MISCELLANEOUS MATTER than any other paper published in the United States. The special aim of its Editor and Proprietors is to render it the BEST FAMILY NEWSPAPER in the Country. It gives regularly all the latest intelligence, foreign and domestic, in all Departments, and in the most full, reliable, and satisfactory form. It has regular correspondents in London, Paris, Dublin, Constantinople, and all the other principal cities of Europe, as well as from all the points of interest on the American Continent. Its news and general correspondence is quite as complete as any other paper in the world. It gives regular and full Reports of Congressional and Legislative proceedings; of all Public Meetings, Political, Scientific, and Religious; of the transactions of all the Agricultural, Mechanical, and Scientific Associations, and generally of whatever has value or interest for any portion of the community.

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THE TIMES is under the Editorial management and control of HENRY J. RAYMOND, and maintains such principles and measures as he may deem essential to the public good, without special devotion to the dogmas of any party, and with no desire to promote any interests less broad than those of all sections and all the people of our Common Country.

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November 27, 1852.

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Will be published every Saturday morning, (commencing March 12th, 1853,) on a sheet the size of the Daily Dispatch, neatly printed on new and beautiful minion and agate type. . . . It will contain the latest news by telegraph and mails; local news of our city and county; news of the neighborhood; comprising Western Pennsylvania and Virginia, and Eastern Ohio, news from a distance; carefully prepared market reports; original and selected poetry, tales, anecdotes, &c., and everything necessary to make an agreeable and entertaining independent newspaper—and will be mailed to subscribers at ONE DOLLAR A YEAR, payable invariably in advance—the name being struck from our books on the expiration of the period paid for. . . . In order however to make it a PENNY WEEKLY occupying the same position in the country which the daily does in the cities, we will send it to clubs at the following rates:

Three copies, to one address, one year, \$2.00
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AND UNITED STATES WEEKLY REGISTER.

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